

The Labour Organiser

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The Old Order Changeth

Barely 21 years after, and the great cataclysm you and I foretold would arise out of the "peace" is upon us.

Comfort, brothers! All is not lost of that we treasure and hold dear. Our ideals, our hopes, our accomplishments as a Workers' Party may yet stand the strain of war. That depends less on circumstances than on ourselves.

Never was it more true that the old order changeth giving place to new. Do you and I, comrades, stand by the lake side watching with vain regrets the fast receding bark? Or do we brace ourselves with new courage and outlook to meet the changed times, to forge fresh weapons for the workers' fight (unchanged in fundamentals by the war), and to meet new circumstances with the same fortitude and the old accustomed eagerness?

Cowards flinch and traitors sneer. Have you heard them? Labour is lost; Socialism damned; bloody treason triumphs over us; from henceforth we forsake the fold, and the wilderness will swallow us up. All is Ichabod and the glory has departed.

Yes, we have heard this, but we have heard also better news, and we behold in most constituencies, and among most Labour folk, the other spirit. Read our article on "Organisation, 1914-1918" and take heart. In this issue, certainly not our last, we present facts as they are. We tender comfort and advice. We all come closer and our comradeship and our courage are going to see us through, our eyes still upon our coming triumph.

This is the one Labour journal which is not a propaganda paper. In very truth our inclinations and our purpose limit us in that. We are conscious that the war has come about through causes far more fundamental than the aggression of one nation. and, an editor's license, having allowed that to appear, we are sensible of another duty; and that is our part in the maintenance of the only political Party with a clear vision of the causes of war and the structure of Society that can make possible a lasting world peace. Divisions may come later,

they probably will, but they can not affect our purpose which is to call all Socialists to the preservation of our Party and continued faithfulness to its ideals.

In coming days most of our readers will be absorbed in war work and subsidiary functions due to war conditions. Let, however, our words above be remembered. We have faith that Labour alone will be the instrument which, in the clashing and the crashing of economic and political structures, will crystalize the aspirations of the people, and which in the future turmoil will emerge as the saviour of mankind and civilisation.

In the meantime comrades, take heart and hold fast. War submerges much, but great qualities shine through and live to be rewarded in the peace. The clash of arms will drown all other thoughts for a while, but again hold fast! For the period of reconstruction of ideas, and of the world, will assuredly come. Be ready to make your voices heard that the future Peace will last for ever in the people's name.

OURSELVES

Exactly nineteen years ago was published, not without some trepidation, the first number of the *Labour Organiser*.

The war has been a long time coming—nearly 19 years longer than our trepidation lasted. We experience less to-day in telling our readers that this is *not* the last issue of the paper.

Our contents this month will, we venture, justify the September issue in the eyes of all our comrades and supporters.

We have sought to give comfort, guidance and timely information at the moment it is needed most. And, albeit that we do not talk to-day of elections and how to win them, of Party problems and machinery, of the way to Socialist victory through the ballot box, we submit that our contents coincide with the purpose for which the paper was founded, and there will be need (unfortunately) of more "war numbers" of this paper.

For the time being the *Labour Organiser* will not be published monthly. But as the need arises, after consulting with the Labour Party, we shall continue to issue. This may be bi-monthly, hardly we think less than quarterly, but circumstances and the

needs of the Party to make the *L.O.* an avenue of communication will decide the matter.

The subscriptions of our subscribers will, of course, be carried forward, and we appeal to our friends who have standing orders not to cancel them; on the contrary we ask our friends to increase their orders and to seek to spread our circle of readers. We promise them equally helpful contents in the future. And is it not in these pages that the Party workers find the consolation of comradeship and the human touch that for 19 years has helped so many along?

In common with all other papers we have been compelled to reduce our size with this issue. But it is not in inches or in columns that one must measure values. By all other tests our value comes out best.

One other word—please pay your bills. The first shock of war has passed. We settle down, is it to years of waiting? But Labour and *your* Party stand to boom in the time ahead. In war there must be short reckonings and it is your duty to pay promptly and enable us to give the greatest value the while we render—unstintingly—the full measure of our ability and of our comradeship.

ORGANISATION: 1914-1918

The story of another shadow and its passing

Many readers, and possibly Party Agents in particular, are keen to know whether the experience of the Party during the years of the last war, affords any pride, or indeed any comfort, in regard to the effects on the Party that war conditions entail.

We are afraid that any definite conclusions on this matter would be very risky. The outbreak of war itself and the methods of warfare that may be used are so dissimilar, not to say the relative strength of the Parties, that no seer would venture a prophecy, or even draw a moral. Such views as we express elsewhere are based on *present* conditions and prospects; but they would not be too gloomy had we based them on the facts herein set out.

The story of Party organisation—1914-1918—is not less interesting because of this and it is worth setting out.

The outbreak of war in 1914 found the Labour Party midway between its conferences, which were then held in January, and anticipatory of a general election a few months ahead.

A new Party, not long in its teens, its affiliated membership had grown from 353,000 to approximately a million and a half, with an income of somewhere round £4,000—then as now insufficient to pay 20/- in the £ on its activities.

In the country about 150 Trades Councils and Local Labour Parties were affiliated, mostly rather indifferent election machines, and with little resemblance to modern local Parties. Some Local Parties enrolled "associate" or direct members but there was no individual membership as now known.

Labour in 1914 could not be said to be an immediate, if a potential, claimant to the reins of office. The Liberal Party had not only not been destroyed, but it was in power with a record majority. Labour's ranks were full of Lib.-Labs., many of its M.P.s held seats by the grace of the Liberal Party, and its swollen membership by no means betokened the strength of

Socialist or even independent political thought in the country.

As for Party agents there were twenty of them fully recognised though few could claim to be performing anything like the accepted agency functions of to-day, and conditions of service were chaotic.

This then was the somewhat motley force which by the end of the war had grown to be regarded as the power behind any alternative government, and which, though out-manoeuvred in the General Election in 1918, rose to power a few years later and has remained ever since the alternative, with the rest of the field far behind.

Three weeks of war found Labour bound by a political truce, similarly to now. Nine months later Labour entered a Coalition government.

This then was the situation nationally, though the Party was sharply divided in the country. These factors, however, hardly seem to have halted development.

After two years of war the national affiliations of Labour Parties stood at 199—a jump of 33⅓ per cent., and an evident indication that local interest was reviving. The number of agents increased by only four. In national affairs there was a prosperous state of affairs. Affiliated membership had increased by 600,000 and so happy was the financial situation that with affiliation fees at nearly £11,000 and expenditure of only £6,800 the N.E.C. was constrained to invest £14,000 of its surplus funds in Treasury Bills. How the present day custodians of the Party overdraft must long that history will repeat itself! Let us pray, dear brothers—but don't bank on the answer.

In 1916 the first meeting was held of the newly-formed National Association of Labour Registration and Election Agents (now The National Union of Labour Organisers and Election Agents). From this and other evidence it would appear that real increase in the number of agents was higher than stated above.

So we come to 1918. By this time the political truce had worn pretty thin. It still applied to by-elections and in other directions; but things had happened.

Mr. Arthur Henderson (then one of the first Labour Right Honourables) had been to Russia. The advice of this far-seeing statesman had been rejected, and the incident of the doormat made history.

Following this happening, and concurrently with a Speaker's Conference, a Re-distribution and Franchise Reform Bill, and other General Election preparations, Labour, in no sense as a breach of the truce, began to overhaul its constitution as a Party and to prepare for its great destiny by enlarging its scope. The new constitution was launched and the Labour Party emerged from its chrysalis state as a virtual federation to become a great popular Party with machinery in every constituency, a women's wing, and a linked framework which held locals and nations in seemingly irresistible formation. Had our ranks been as conscious and convinced then as now a victory at the end of the war was possible. But, there, the Election was hurried; Labour was tarred Bolshevik; the fair promises of Britain's dictator were before the people; the unemployed were grateful for the new dole—and the battle was lost on a 58 per cent. poll.

But Labour had gone ahead. Its previous highest poll had been 505,690. Now it had secured 2,244,945 votes out of a total cast of 9,775,174 (Great Britain). The Parliamentary Party now numbered 61.

The position in the constituencies was reflected by the increased number of Trade Councils and L.L.P.'s now affiliated. Nearly 200 more constituency organisations were affiliated and in two years another 800,000 had been clapped on to the nationally affiliated membership; the figure of 1,500,000 for 1914 had almost doubled in the interim.

As to national finance fees now totalled over £20,000 and the Party came out of a strenuous election with quite a respectable balance in hand.

Perhaps the most significant fact of all was that 1918, the last year of the war, saw the birth of the majority of existing D.L.P.s and of hundreds of L.L.P.s. This remains. Is it to be said that what one war made possible, another destroyed? Or is it conceivable that the steeling we go through will

strengthen and conserve the energies and the faith which was born in another dark hour?

Such then is the story of organisation through the war years. We draw no moral, but if we did we should not despond.

To-day is a time to get closer; for comrades to be comrades; for us all to be vigilant and to preserve the strength and unity to be found in our Parties; above all to be strong in our faith. Look for the silver lining and we shall find it.

LABOUR PARTY SCHEME FOR STUDY AND EXAMINATION.

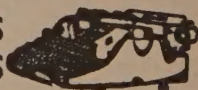
More Diploma Awards.

We have pleasure in announcing that the following students have now successfully completed their courses and satisfied the examiners. They have all been awarded diploma certificates.

The Registrar of Study Courses, Mr. Harold Croft, kindly sends us this matter for publication. Previous lists were published in January and May, 1939.

Mr. J. Ashe, Ramsbottom.
Mrs. W. A. Spurgeon, Plymouth.
Mr. J. Cole, Kettering.
Mrs. M. Purves, Blyth.
Mr. G. Monk, South Hetton.
Mr. V. S. Waters, Lydney.
Mr. J. T. Killian, Walsall.
Mr. A. Murie, Birmingham.
Coun. W. Bland, Bishop Auckland.
Mr. J. R. Bratby, Stapleford.
Mr. S. Hand, Middleton, Leeds.
Mr. J. Hankinson, Tyldesley.
Mr. J. N. Hexham, Barrow.
Mr. R. Young, Carcroft, Doncaster.

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NOT GUNS, BUT T.U. MEMBERSHIP

An article in which we point to prospects and advise you to stick close to the Unions.

While it is inevitable that the many difficulties which surround the maintenance of individual membership during the war will, at any rate, temporarily, have an effect upon Local Party finances, there is another side to the picture which should give hope to those who are seriously determined to carry on and maintain their Party's strength.

In our article on "Individual Membership in Wartime," we deal with this problem and even offer hope for the future. But it has probably occurred to our readers, as it has to many persons we have consulted, that a great opportunity for strengthening Local Parties will arise out of the almost certain war-time growth of Trade Union strength, both locally and nationally. If we do lose on the swings we ought to make it up on the roundabouts.

During the Great War (henceforth to be known as the Little War, or the Lesser War, or the Four Years' War), Trade Union membership increased by leaps and bounds, as did Trade Union power and influence. Battles of recognition were won, and huge memberships were created out of the industrial army at home, the while funds were consolidated and reserves built up. That the post-war years, and the destruction by Mr. Lloyd George of all the Socialistic edifice of the war, brought along a slump, has no bearing on our case here.

Trade Unionism at the commencement of this war starts with a big advantage over 1914. Recruitment to Union ranks is going to come quicker, and losses to the military, heavier immediately than then, should be quickly made up.

And—a factor of intense importance—the new industrialisation is going to affect so many rural areas that despite what may be done about agriculture, there is hardly going to be a truly

rural constituency in the country; hardly one without the possibility of a strong Trade Union backbone. We here are taking no account of the probable growth of organisation among farm workers—may it swell!

All this constitutes a more realistic picture of what may happen than all the stories of lost membership, disappearing possibilities and general collapse. But we must have patience while the new situation develops, and prepare for it. There is indeed hope that every Party may have some share in the prosperity of the Unions. At any rate we should anticipate it, and, moreover, seek to hasten its coming.

A question that might pertinently be now asked is whether the contacts and relationships with Trade Union Branches are all that is to be desired in each constituency. What is the total affiliated membership? Does this bear a true relation to the number paying the political levy? How many Branches are unaffiliated? Is the basis of representation and the affiliation fee satisfactory and reasonable for both interests? And are the present T.U. delegates interested in Party working and conscious of Party problems?

These are no idle questions. A satisfactory answer is needed to each of them.

In plain truth there are few constituencies where the local affiliations have ever been wholly satisfactory. This is due to causes not wholly connected with "Trade Union apathy," and the time to correct past laments is now.

There are a dozen special reasons which have arisen since the outbreak of war for immediate and close collaboration with the Unions. Representation is needed on this and that, joint action in various directions is called for, and the war should bring both wings of Labour closer together. Strike

then while the iron is hot for full and 100 per cent. affiliation all round!

It is hard to believe that the twenty-year-old twopence per member affiliation fee still lingers over such a wide field. What commonsense and Party needs have failed to kill will be blown sky-high by war inflation. We advise all Parties to put their affiliation fees to Local Branches on an economic basis right away. But take care not to do this over the heads of the Branches, but in co-operation with them. There is to-day the example of lots of constituencies (and even they may need to raise their fees), and we refuse to believe that, properly explained, and with our losses and problems in other direction put before them, Trade Union Branches will decline to square up to paying proper dues.

It is not prudent to disguise the fact that (particularly where, in the absence of much Trade Union membership the local Party has been almost wholly created and carried by individual members), there are some areas where the spirit and the rules are not conducive to effective Trade Union co-operation or affiliation. This ought not to be, nor do we think that the constituencies concerned will now be otherwise than alert to the new times and the changes demanded by them.

There remains the problem of how to interest the Trade Unions, and their new members, more and more in the maintenance of the Local Party and in the furtherance of its policy. Events and the time alone will accomplish much, but the Local Parties must not fail to secure that they are the colleagues of the Unions—not the poor relations—in all matters requiring initiation and co-operation.

Local Parties with premises can do much to further the objects we have in view. Invite Trade Union branches afresh to meet therein; the shortage of other meeting-places will soon make itself felt. Make the Labour rooms more and more a centre of social activity and of such schemes for giving advice and aid to those in need of it as local circumstances permit. Above all, see to it that the Trade Union branches co-operate in every endeavour of this sort.

As time advances there is little doubt that the voice of the combined Labour forces (including the Co-operative Party and the Co-operative Societies—though these are larger questions than

are raised in this article) will need to become more and more articulate. Much may fall to it, but the foundations for more effective action and for bringing into play the full force of organised Labour must be laid now.

And the first steps are more affiliations, an economic basis of payment, and full co-operation, consultation and action all along the line.

Newton - le - Willows says—

Relative to the position here we shall carry on in the usual way with the exception of Public Meetings for the time being.

I still propose to issue our monthly paper unless some difficulty crops up to prevent publication.

*Well done and Good Luck.
This is the key-note of
many, many messages
we have received . . .*

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THE PARTY AT WORK IN WAR

The declaration of a political truce between the main political Parties followed early on the outbreak of war. The truce does not mean that the Parties have coalesced or abandoned their essential differences. This truce is no more than any other truce, i.e., a temporary suspension of destructive or aggressive action in specified directions, and for specified purposes. As in a military truce, each side maintains its forces, and may probably even strengthen them without breaking the truce. Anyway, a truce between Parties involves no suspension of Party meetings, or of endeavours to hold and strengthen Party membership, nor any extinction, eclipse or curtailment of the full independence, and right of expression and existence for every Local Party — and the National organisation.

The effects of the truce will be manifest in several directions, but principally in Parliamentary by-elections. By-election flare-ups and mobilisations are things of the past while the truce lasts. This will not deprive electors of representation, for by arrangement between the Parties writs of election will still be issued, but nominations will be limited to the choice of the Party which last held the seat. Like many other things in this war for Democracy, this plan is mighty hard to defend in Democracy's name—even if it *did* have a precedent in 1914-1918.

A natural corollary to the suspension of National hostilities is to curtail local fighting. We understand that an agreed measure will be passed suspending Local Government elections for the time being, and making other changes. The coming into force of the Register of Electors now in preparation is also likely to be postponed for a month or two owing to printing difficulties; and the date of the next register is likely to depend on the course of the war—certainly before a General Election takes place a special register will be prepared. For the rest—well, we must wait and see.

Notwithstanding the truce, we need hardly remind our readers of the great emphasis placed by Headquarters on the continuance of the ordinary work of Local Parties. The fact that there are no elections to be fought does not mean the end of all aim and endeavour. Few Parties in fact have lived upon their elections. There is much Party activity now needed in maintaining membership, collecting, visiting and later on in spreading Labour's peace aims throughout the land by all the means for propaganda available; we shall in fact not be suspending Party activity so much as conserving it, and making ready for the great trial of strength that will come at the end of the war.

Apart from normal Party activities, to which we ourselves more properly pay attention, the Labour Party draw attention to the importance of local co-operation by Parties with certain other organisations of local and national war importance. Local Parties should be alive to the proper representation of Labour on all appropriate public bodies or committees. And "Labour representation" is not satisfied by the co-option of tame tabby cats of "Tory working-class" (!) extraction. Further, "Labour representation" must include the political section which exists for that very end. Tory dodging and class prejudice has already provided Labour with a great inequality to remedy and with a job to get things straight that will last some time. Bad cases should be reported to the Head Office.

An admirable and helpful circular to Parties in the Southern Counties area has been issued by our old friend, J. W. Kneeshaw, the District Organiser for the area. Mr. Kneeshaw says:—

"In the dark days—and nights—ahead, there is one thing of which we must make certain. *There must be no black-out for the Party.* It will sometimes be difficult to keep things going, but keep them going we must . . ."

Some of Mr. Kneeshaw's suggestions are:

1. If any of your Officers are likely to be "called-up" or "evacuated" for service, elect duplicate Officers *now*, so that when the time of departure arrives, the change over can be made without a break.

AND arrange a sing-song or a tea party to bid good-bye and godspeed to all departing Officers and Members. It is important to remember in such times as these that "Fellowship is life."

Keep a list of all Members who have to leave you, and *keep in touch with them*. It might be well to appoint a special Officer to do this. Let all messages from absent members be read at Party gatherings.

Consider arrangements whereby you can keep in touch with, and help, those who are left behind, particularly if trouble or grief should overtake them. Remember—"A friend in need is the only one."

3. An Advice Bureau in every Party, able and willing to help with allowances, pensions, and the many other things which will arise, will be a godsend to many in your district. Make your Party a refuge for all who are in trouble.

4. If the "black-out" prevents you from holding meetings in the evenings, fix them for Saturdays and Sundays, *and don't let them be too prosy*. Buy some song sheets, Transport House can supply them, and let us learn to sing again. Music lightens anxiety and sweetens life for all.

CANDIDATES ENDORSED

CHES.: Stockport. Mr. R. W. Casasola, 17, Crescent Road, Cheetham Hill, Manchester, 8.

Dorset: South. Mr. P. S. Eastman, Castle Studios, Salisbury, Wilts.

ESSEX: Colchester. Mr. C. G. P. Smith, 12, Gt. Ormond Street, London, W.C.1.

NORTHUMBS.: Tynemouth. Miss Grace Colman, 3, Avis Court, 50, Ladbroke Road, N.11.

Wallsend. Mr. J. McKay, 123, West Road, Pendower, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

SALOP: Shrewsbury. Mr. S. N. Chapman, 48, Palmerston Road, Bowes Park, N.22.

STAFFS.: Walsall. Mr. A. J. Stanley, 26, Bradford Street, Walsall, Staffs.

WILTS.: Swindon. Mr. T. Reid, 15, Tring Avenue, W.5.

THE LABOUR PARTY DIRECTORY

The alterations listed below, together with those published in previous issues are to be taken as amendments to the Annual Report published in June, 1939.

Index Descrip-

No.	tion	Name of Organisation	Present Secretary and Address
B13/14	DB	Birkenhead T.C. & L.P.	MR. N. PERCIVAL, 36, Hamilton Street, Birkenhead, Cheshire.
C44	CD	West Derbyshire D.L.P.	MR. A. A. FORD, Thalassa, Starkholmes Road, Matlock, Derbys.
A65	DMB	Sunderland D.L.P.	MR. MCGREGOR ENGLISH, 12, Grange View, Sunderland, Co. Durham.
G78	BD	East Ham South D.L.P.	MR. W. H. JACOB, 16, High Street North, East Ham, London, E.6.
D143	CD	Tonbridge D.L.P.	MR. C. COLLISON, 62, Taylor Street, Southborough, Kent.
Br74	BD	Rusholme D.L.P.	MR. A. GOLDBOURNE, 59, Henderson Street, Levenshulme, Manchester.
Br90	CD	Darwen Divisional L.P.	MR. A. MAYOH, 41, Devon Street, Darwen, Lancs.
E252	BD	Brixton D.L.P.	COUN. W. JONES, 39, Minet Road, London, S.W.9.
E277	BD	Putney D.L.P.	MR. E. WHITNOCK, Milton House, Oak Hill Road, London, S.W.15.
C357	CD	Burton-on-Trent D.L.P.	MR. A. G. BRANMER, 23, Wyggeston Street, Burton-on-Trent, Staffs.

INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP IN WAR-TIME . . . New Problems

One-half the world never knows how the other half lives. It is therefore not surprising that quite a lot of our friends (who themselves have the comparatively simple task of trying to settle down with their members after the war's first blast) are totally unaware of the serious disturbance created in some areas by evacuation.

The problem of how to retain the interest, and payments, of Labour's present individual membership is a complex one.

It must be remembered that our gross figures are sustained by large numbers of new entrants each year, just as is the case with the less skilled Unions and other organisations.

Leaving aside the question of retaining members, shall we get new entrants under the new conditions sufficient to replace losses—speaking in the aggregate rather than with reference to the specially high losses of some constituencies?

The National Agent, Mr. G. R. Shepherd, in another part of this issue, expresses the opinion that membership will grow during the war and that opinion has been elsewhere held and expressed.

It is worth while noting what must happen to achieve this desirable end. We have (1) to cope with a situation in some Divisions where **streets** of members have disappeared. Members, collectors, and organisations swallowed up by the evacuation, and what membership is left is disordered and disembodied; (2) to recover all other Parties from the shock they have received and remove the effects of disturbance and confusion everywhere; and (3) to accomplish all this with a lessened male availability, due to recruitment and without the stimulus of elections. Can it be done?

Our view, candidly stated, is that it will take a long time to recover lost ground and membership, if it can be done at all, without some new orientation and a fresh conception of membership.

Let us examine this question. Individual membership to-day is mostly a question of loyalty to the Local Party. There is an acceptance of "Party principles and policy," but in the main the appeal and certainly the functioning is local. Pride in the local machine goes with members, and the big Party, equally with the small one, has its eyes most of the time on local affairs; council matters and domestic Party affairs absorb an immense part of our members' interest.

We venture to express the view that under present conditions there will need to be a new and stronger bond uniting any mass membership of the Party throughout the country. And mass membership alone is likely to prove effective in certain struggles ahead.

We should like to see our viewpoint examined and met. What is to be the rallying point? Really that is easy to imagine. But if the ranks of Labour are to be re-formed, re-lined and re-inspired, are there any changes desirable that will give clearer direction to the whole?

If we may express our view on this point, it is that membership to be revived and successful on the scale it needs to be, must come more under the national wing. The national membership card must prove to be one in reality, giving the evacuee and the removed worker or soldier the rights of membership **everywhere**. The Party, too, must cater more than it has for its membership and keep closer in touch with it. Look at the number of Trade journals for Trade Unionists and all the gadgets to make Trade Unionists. We require a paper for individual members; call it "The Party Member," and make it pay! Above all, make membership countrywide and continuous and able to function, too, as units as well as by our sore-tried delegate system.

We believe the new orientation is necessary to re-building. We may pursue the matter further in our next issue.

(Concluded on page 172)

You will want your Agent

DON'T COPY THE CAPITALISTS—LOOK AHEAD

It is no secret that Labour agents have expected to be among the first casualties in the employment field at home. In the semi-collapse of our social structure, due to aerial bombing, there would be no functions for political agents and certainly no resources for their payment.

Well in this funniest of wars that is another of the anticipations which have proved wrong. Labour agents to-day are still at their posts; a bit worried, perhaps, as everyone is, and with no reason existing at all for their dismissal—on the contrary, there is a pressing demand for their retention if the Party is to be conserved and guided through the exigencies and incidents of such a war as this.

Labour at this hour needs a loyal staff in the country—never more so—but the retention of that staff is an obligation shared by a number of Unions and of Parties who, if they look ahead, will find the retention of the agents not only possible but profitable in every degree.

In the first rush of a new situation we believe there was a tendency to close some agencies. Did not we all share a sort of panic? Look at this situation again and note what the Party attitude is to other dismissals. How can Labour condemn others and offend the same way itself, giving the same excuse?

We remind our readers of two provisions concerning agents which operate in the interests of the Party at this juncture.

In the first place an agent must receive (or give) three months' notice of termination of his employment and likewise any agreement by a candidate to contribute funds to a constituency Party is, by the terms of the nomination paper, and the agreement made therein, subject to cancellation by three months' notice.

These two provisions may give time for thought even where some action has already been taken. The opinion

of many experts is that Labour will henceforth steadily increase its power and resources. Even Parties dependent on social effort for their resources may take heart, for the signs are that their former opportunities are returning.

Under all these circumstances we suggest to our readers that no agent should be dismissed, and no good man should be allowed to go. A little patience, more pluck, and a return to reality and Party work, will soon find us in the old or better grooves. We believe that there are some early decisions that ought now to be revised.

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A Message from the National Agent

●

Mr. G. R. SHEPHERD, with his unique knowledge and wide experience, says: **MEMBERSHIP WILL INCREASE DURING THE WAR**—but it depends on businesslike arrangements.

●

The Labour Party, being the most democratic political organisation in the country, is anxious to emerge from the War with its ideals intact and its organisation stronger than ever. The conditions under which the country will live during the War will modify many institutions and the Labour Party is scarcely likely to escape changes altogether. It must be our resolve, however, to keep our faith and principles ever in mind so as to safeguard the Socialist interest for which we stand.

I hold a definite view that membership of the Labour Party may increase during the War given the necessary businesslike arrangements for the enrolment and maintenance of recruits. I believe that the burdens which will fall on every Britisher will compel us all to a measure of thinking whatever may have been the case during peace. When *thinking* commences Labour's opportunity for recruitment is highest. I plead, therefore, that Constituency Parties get rid of the pessimism that seems to have raised its head in a few places and refuse to be overborne by the new burden of responsibility.



Labour's Peace Aims will be published without undue delay because however necessary it may be to bend our energies to winning the War it is far from being unimportant that Peace should be prepared for. These Peace Aims of the Labour Party will require careful study by our Parties and every effort will be made to provide the necessary material from Headquarters. Study will be required to enable our members to become propagandists to win votes and membership.

Whilst the Party will co-operate with the Ministry of Information throughout the country and whilst Constituency Parties will be required to participate in the running of meetings and the distribution of literature under the auspices of the Ministry, the Labour Party has reserved its right, when it thinks proper, to put its own case to the public. We do not doubt that all commitments in other directions, will be prepared to leave themselves sufficiently free for this purpose.

The end of the last War saw a "khaki" Election in which the Government of the day secured an overwhelming majority and which they used to make the "Peace." To prevent a similar occurrence at the conclusion of this War the Party must prepare

itself to win the confidence of the electors and authority to make a Labour, and therefore a truly British, Peace. In preparation for this money must be raised, educational work must be developed, propaganda work must be continued at intervals, and above all, the Party's literature must be sold widely and distributed broadcast.

As some will know from press reports agreement is being reached between the political Parties to postpone Parliamentary By-elections and Local Government Elections. What is not quite so well-known is that the Register of Electors which is due for publication on the 15th October may not be published until the same date in December, owing to printing difficulties arising out of the War and an alteration extending the age for Jury service.

The proposal to avoid election contests may cause heartburn in many quarters but when it is realised (a) that the Register mentioned above will be the last until the War is over (b) that recruitment into the Army, and evacuation will continue to take place, and (c) that transfers of labour may become inevitable, it will be appreciated that the practical difficulties of waging elections fights are insuperable.

Notwithstanding the absence of contests there is a great deal of work for parties to perform and I appeal to them to do their utmost to maintain the honour and interests of the Party in readiness for peace time.

WE DROP ONE ON THEM

Have you noticed how titled people have got themselves elected to the most prominent positions on every kind of war organisation? Labour folk will need to be very, very, watchful. How much of this is due to the degrading snobbery that is so strong a trait in our national character?

We read in a local paper of a Town Clerk who claims that the appointment of Labour representatives on the Food Council is within his discretion. Needless to say he has a Tory Council, a Tory M.P., a hyphened high-sounding name, and reeks of Toryism himself.

MORE AGENTS

The following additional appointments of Labour agents were notified in August. We have no definite news of any deletions, although a few agents have notified us they have temporarily taken over public work, while keeping an eye on their constituencies:—

Durham (Sedgefield Division). — Mr. J. W. Chatt, 19, Raisby Terrace, West Cornforth, Ferryhill, Co. Durham.

Cheshire (Crewe).—Mr. J. Fraser, Prince Albert Chambers, Prince Albert Street, Crewe.

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(Concluded from page 169)

Meanwhile, we are not burdening our readers with purely theoretical advice as to what they ought to do now to keep and build their forces. We have faith in their courage and ability to do necessary things right away. We prefer to see how the situation develops in various classes of constituencies, and we shall be out and about and watch affairs and draw examples and conclusions which shall be duly handed on in these pages.

Printing and Stationery in War-time

Some Useful Hints for Local Officers

Even those who remember the last war may have forgotten that among the minor inconveniences was the acute shortage and high prices of paper of all sorts. Some grocers charged for wrapping your goods or served them into your baskets (when they had anything to serve), while printing of all sorts was necessarily done in economical quantities and on the cheapest paper. It was not for nothing that we re-printed in our June number the rationing arrangements that obtained in the general election of 1918.

Most Parties have become so accustomed to prevailing low prices and to using lashings of paper that they need reminding now that present stocks may never be renewed, certainly not at the same price, and that many economies could be immediately put into practice. Don't let us forget that during the last war envelopes were used again and again by means of adhesive labels, that poster paper was almost unobtainable, and that government departments, lavishness itself as a rule with paper, cut and cut its use so that everyone learnt to be careful.

What to Save

Here is some advice which we venture to give arising out of our own experience:

Don't destroy at the moment any old stocks, old printed handbills with a blank side, any mis-addressed unused envelopes, or literature of any kind which presents an unprinted surface.

Writing paper, which is out of date because of changes, can have deletions blocked out and corrections printed in; or, alternately, the headings can be guillotined off at the printers leaving perfectly clean unprinted sheets.

Old handbills have been often used again by printing on the reverse side, and we may have to resort to this again. Even handbills printed both sides were sometimes used in the last

war, bold red printing being quite readable on such material.

People who use foolscap paper for correspondence might do well now to take their stocks to the printer and have them cut down. The "off-cuts" will provide fine material for some circulars later on, or if the foolscap is cut in half there is the material for doubling the stock of stationery.

Under war conditions the use of both sides of the paper for long communications is quite justifiable, even necessary. But don't let this lead one to suppose that it is better not to write at all (and thus deprive us of our subscriptions or our just dues!).

How to Economise

Duplicating paper is a heavy charge on some parties. One can readily conceive ways and means of cutting the cost down with real injury to nobody. Quarto instead of foolscap, duplicating both sides of the paper, and cutting out the less urgent matters are three obvious ways of meeting the situation. We advise replenishing stocks of duplicating paper at once. If stores run out remember that the duplicator will take ordinary paper, the less-finished surface the better, but all other than the proper paper requires to be widely spread out to dry.

Apart from all this, when public meetings again become possible, our readers will do well to consider other alternatives to printing for their announcements. Loud speaker-ing will be taboo, but we suggest trying to stretch any regulations regarding pavement chalking even now. And there will still remain the door-to-door method, always the cheapest and most effective method of announcement.

Postage is not a big item with most Parties, though some use the post for summoning meetings and keeping contacts, quite extensively. During the last war "penny postage" disappeared and letter post rose to 2d.

We ourselves expect that this figure, if not a higher one, will return within a few weeks. The Postmaster-General must find his bit for the war, moreover he has to meet the drop in business correspondence and the burden of enormously increased departmental correspondence under exceptionally difficult conditions. Perhaps we shall see standardized sizes of envelopes prescribed. Why is it that no brainy Postmaster-General has ever seen the possibilities in this—the amount of handstamping and squaring up to be saved, plus the opportunity for an extra charge on the odd-sized letters?

Anyhow, cut out postage for calling meetings and exercise the machine.

A last word—if you have bought your “Election Communication” envelopes, keep them. They will presently be worth far more than you gave for them, even if to be used (or sold) for other purposes; count them among your assets.

(Concluded from opposite page)

flux conditions of society than to the sort of unsettlement that seems likely to obtain now.

It war-time the small printed sheet had the advantage of interposing a printer between the authors and the authorities, and if you go to a good printer that means protection, for no responsible firm will print what is forbidden. Still that concerns your own desires!

To sum up we believe that the need for Labour's local newspapers will become very apparent as the war goes on. Papers that can be kept going in reduced sizes as present publication intervals should continue to come out, and the others should not announce a stoppage but make arrangements to publish at suitable intervals. And, get a sober, trustworthy editor, who will appreciate the difference between license and such liberty as is allowed in war-time. Nuff sed.

We are glad to acknowledge the receipt of the following papers which have made their usual appearance, and been sent to us, this month. Many papers and journals are not sent to us regularly, so this must not be taken as any guide to the number of papers

carrying on, but rather as to the variety and distribution of them:

Rochdale Labour News (price one penny); Town Crier (Birmingham)—Weekly 2d.; Leeds Weekly Citizen—Weekly 1d.; Forward (Ipswich); Preston Labour News (over 20,000 per issue); Paisley Labour News; Cannock Chase Labour Gazette (7,000 circulation).

OLD HEROES FADE AWAY

Strange that with all our extravagant war expenditure, the old-age pensioner is still left to “carry on” or starve on 10s. per week. £550,000,000 for the war (when we couldn't find £5,000,000 for them), jobs for heaps of idle rich; relief and doles for all sorts of people, but, for them — oblivion. We make bold to reproduce these pension figures, which are official:—

Field-Marshal	£32	0	0	a week
General	£21	0	0	”
Admiral	£21	7	7	”
Vice-Admiral	£20	0	0	”
Chief Constable	£18	0	0	”
Working Man		10	0	”

Thank God for Democracy, comrades! Need we add that a High Court Judge requires £67 a week pension to keep him out of corruption. What a fine system our brothers are defending.

On this question it is a little disgusting to remember that the “House” which refuses justice to the aged, voted to themselves a £4 a week rise not so long ago. And how many “honourable members” are now picking up their £600 per annum plus payment for fat little jobs in the Services and elsewhere? In the coming days “graft” may prove the biggest enemy to “Democracy.”

VITAL

Secretaries are particularly asked to see that every change or alteration of address connected with supplies of the “L.O.” is sent to us at once, WITH FULL DETAILS.

Please don't let your carelessness result in sending the “L.O.” to dead addresses.

WANTED IN WAR-TIME

Your Local Labour Paper and what to do with it

We are pleased to note that several Local Labour papers have made their usual appearance since the war began though some of them express doubts about future publication.

The problem of issuing propaganda journals during the war is a complex one. It is not yet clear how far censorship may be applied to such papers, and in the last war the fear of D.O.R.A. influenced some printers even in regard to leaflets bearing on the war which it was thought might land the printer and publisher in difficulties.

New Problems

However, we think that matter can be left to the future. Probably more immediately-felt difficulties will be the supply and cost of paper, falling-off of the advertisers, the effects of the political truce, the problem of distribution, and maybe, the dearth of matter for a while that would make the paper serviceable to the Party. Add to these things the physical disturbance of our membership and officership which military and war services will create at first, plus a desire carefully to consider all expenditure and it will be seen that the whole question bristles with difficulty.

There is no doubt that every Labour paper will have immediately to consider its future. And while these discussions are going on we want to put in a word for preservation.

We appreciate that war-time publication is no easy matter; and we have little experience to go upon. Certain it is every publication must cut down its size. In our opinion this is no deterrent to effectiveness. Our advocacy of "the little paper with the punch" is well known to our readers. Indeed, in our opinion, some local papers could cut down their size to one-quarter their present dimensions while maintaining, perhaps increasing, "their" pull."

Considerations like this alter other problems. Radically reduced sizes affect cost of paper and composing, lessen the distribution work, help to solve the editorial problem, and at the same time create a new interest among readers.

Need for Local Expression

We consider that it is of greatest importance to Labour for its link of local papers to be maintained in some degree throughout the war. Heaven alone knows if the Heptarchy will return (we shall want a new name for government in 12 Divisions) and whether Mercia, Wessex, Northumbria and the rest are to be resurrected because of enemy action; sufficient for the day is the fact that, with growing difficulties of transit and contact, one reduced national newspaper and two or three attenuated national journals, cannot possibly give expression to Labour's aim, or voice the whole of democratic opinion, on the great and crucial political questions that will arise in the course of the war.

We do not urge parties to rashly decide upon continued publication on present-day guarantees of circulation. Quite a lot of Parties issue journals with guarantees of 20,000 circulated copies or even more. This is a sound proposition for advertisers, but with reduced space available and less advertisers, we think few such guarantees can survive. Further a 20,000 distribution is a job for a good machine. For ourselves we should aim lower.

We are not keen on reverting to duplicated sheets. There were certain activities in this direction during the last war, and directly afterwards, but they were mostly industrial or semi-revolutionary in character. Such papers possess the facility of over-night production and indeed are more suited to

(Concluded on opposite page)

THE WISE MEN OF THE EAST CARRY ON

(We hear, too, that Ipswich and other places have also acted on similar lines. As we go to press a number of similar circulars reach us.)

East Walthamstow—250 miles as the crow flies from Germany—will carry on. Here is a Party circular, the arrangements in which might well be taken as a model for others.

As the problems of the workers get greater,
so does the need for a strong Socialist Movement become more necessary to us all.

TO EVERY MEMBER OF THE PARTY

We cannot expect to carry on our organisation in War time just the same way as in Peace—but **WE NEED NOT PACK UP!!!**

The Executive Committee have met, and realise the importance of **carrying on**.

We know things are difficult—that many are despondent, but please don't aggravate things by giving in.

It has been decided **NOT** to carry on with the ordinary monthly Ward meetings, but to substitute a **Monthly Meeting of the whole of the Party**—to be held on the last Sunday in each month at William Morris Hall, Somers Road, at 2.30 p.m.

Please consider this as a notice of the meeting for:—

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 24th

at William Morris Hall, 2.30 p.m. Come along and let us all get together—face our common problems and mould our organisation for its new and greater tasks.

DON'T LEAVE IT TO SOMEBODY ELSE—COME ALONG YOURSELF.

TO ALL COLLECTORS. Please carry on!! The Movement will want as much money as possible to serve its ends, and your place in the Party becomes more important than ever.

TO ALL WARD OFFICIALS. Your Ward organisation has **NOT** collapsed. By maintaining a good strong monthly meeting of our membership it will be easier for you to keep your Ward machinery going later on when the position becomes more clarified.

TO WARD TREASURERS. Try to maintain regular contact with your collectors, and, as far as possible, pay over monies to the Divisional Treasurer as regularly as possible.

TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. We shall meet in future once a month at 342, Hoe Street, on Sundays at 11 a.m. On the last Sunday in each month.

Remember the future of our Movement depends not on what a few of us may do, **BUT ON WHAT WE ALL DO.** The workers of the world are now paying a bitter price for leaving the "thinking" to be done by others, don't do that in your own locality but play your part in our Movement now.

Yours fraternally,

E. M. MILLICENT,
Hon. Secretary and Treasurer.



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